

Southern Rights Documents.

CO-OPERATION MEETING,

Held in Charleston, S. C., July 29th, 1851.

For a few days previous to the meeting, the following CALL was circulated among the citizens of Charleston, and received upwards of *Twelve Hundred Signatures*. Had time been afforded, the list could easily have been increased to 2,000 names.

PUBLIC MEETING!

We, the undersigned, unite in a call for a PUBLIC MEETING, to be held in Charleston, to give expression to the views of those of our fellow-citizens who, in common with us, are in favor of CO-OPERATION for the purpose of resistance to the aggressions of the Federal Government, but who are *opposed* to the Separate Secession of South-Carolina from the Union, under existing circumstances :

W. Peronneau Finley,	Edward Frost,	Samuel Lord,
J. Alston, Sr.,	W. D. Porter,	James H. Taylor,
Wm. Buil Pringle,	Isaac W. Hayne,	Donald Mackintosh,
A. G. Rose,	Wm. Hawkesworth,	Wm. Y. Paxton,
Charles T. Lowndes,	Louis R. Gibbes,	Wm. Kunhardt,
A. P. Hayne, M. D.,	F. A. Porcher,	Nathaniel Tylee,
James R. Pringle,	John Bachman, D. D.,	Robert Lebby, M. D.,
A. P. Hayne,	J. W. Miles,	Thos. W. Covert,
Henry A. Middleton,	Wm. Porcher Miles,	James Chapman,
John Ravenel,	Francis S. Holmes,	Samuel Y. Tupper,
J. Berkley Grimbail,	S. H. Dickson, M. D.	T. C. Skrine,
Sam'l. Wilson,	Nelson Mitchell,	W. J. Mosiman,
Joseph A. Winthrop,	A. G. Magrath,	James T. Welsman,
W. A. Hayne,	B. C. Pressley,	R. M. Butler,
Joseph H. Dukes,	W. C. Dukes,	James Macbeth,
Wm. Henry Heyward,	T. C. H. Dukes,	John W. Caldwell,
James B. Heyward,	William Bell,	H. P. Lewis,
Edward J. Pringle,	C. L. Burckmyer,	John H. Honour,
St. Julien Ravenel,	A. P. Caldwell,	John Greaton,
E. B. Heyward,	Richard Caldwell,	Joseph Ballard,
Mitchell King,	M. P. Matheson,	A. W. Black,
Benjamin F. Dunkin,	R. M. Alexander,	Benjamin Ford,

Robert Brown,
 Henry F. Baker,
 William Birnie,
 W. R. Brailsford,
 George B. Locke,
 M. L. Lafar,
 John H. Schreiner,
 John McNellage,
 T. B. Ellsworth,
 Charles H. Cohrs,
 Joseph White, Jr.,
 A. Bolles,
 W. B. Lambert,
 John Stanton,
 James S. Bailie,
 John May,
 N. A. Simons,
 Isaac C. Chapman,
 Danl. L. Glen,
 W. R. Babcock,
 James C. Logan,
 E. F. Kaworth,
 R. S. R. Chrietzburg,
 H. M. Bruns,
 John E. Phillips,
 J. W. Grierson,
 Wm. B. Steedman,
 N. M. Porter,
 Geo. H. Gruber,
 Emanuel Currant,
 T. D. Muller, M. D.,
 W. M. Fitch, M. D.,
 Robt. James,
 W. J. Crafts,
 James McLeish,
 John E. Marley,
 James P. Earle,
 T. Ogier Smith,
 C. Y. Richardson,
 Joseph Guy, Senr.,
 Paul Remley,
 C. Whittemore,
 H. Pauls,
 John C. Miller,
 H. Judge Moore,
 Jas. S. Roberts,
J. A. Pelot,
 Jesse H. Bolles,
 A. Scherfesee,
 John Thomson,
 A. L. Michel,
 A. D. Armstrong,
 John W. Hagood,
 Chas. E. Howland,
 J. A. Simmons,
 James Steedman, Jr.,
 A. Von Dohlen,
 H. M. Hinck,
 John Warnken,
 James R. Simonton,
 Lewis M. Hatch,
 Jno. Caldwell, Jr.,
 C. L'hoondieu,
 G. Artope,
 Thos. Smith,
 C. R. Cassidy,
 Eugenie L. Tessier,
 James C. Jones,
 J. R. Wiltherger,
 C. F. Stoney,
 J. Seigling, Jr.
 N. Jacobi,
 Robert Lambert,
 James S. Shingler,
 John S. Bird,
 B. Meyerhoff,
 S. N. Hart,
 H. Johnson,
 George Colman,
 W. J. Jacobi,
 Jos. Frey,
 T. J. Shingler,
 J. L. Moses,
 J. Small,
 H. D. Johnson,
 Henry Horlbeck,
 Elisha Mowry,
 A. W. Trou,
 John E. Rivers,
 H. Weebens,
 Edw. Smith,
 Daniel Horlbeck,
 J. H. Kalb,
 Thomas Steen,
 Wm. O. Turnbull,
 Geo. E. Ring,
 William Veronee,
 W. W. Wilbur,
 O. L. Whitney,
 Daniel E. Huger, Jr.,
 And. Moreland,
 James R. Addison,
 Augustine L. Taveau,
 Peter Gowan,
 Charles Fraser,
 Alex. H. Gowan,
 F. R. Wickenberg,
 J. B. Cummings,
 John Young,
 E. R. Stokes,
 R. L. Davenport,
 J. M. Fraser,
 T. S. Jones,
 Elias Horlbeck,
 W. H. Lafar,
 G. Kellerman,
 J. F. Bonniott,
 Robert K. Payne,
 C. D. Ahrens,
 L. F. Almers,
 H. B. Clarke,
 P. B. Martin, Jr.,
 A. Fogartie,
 J. H. Hartz,
 J. Ketchum,
 Henry Siegling,
 John G. McGillivray,
 W. England,
 John Siegling,
 John H. Honour, Jr.,
 J. A. Bristoll,
 W. W. Kunhardt,
 P. F. Myer,
 E. R. Cowperthwait,
 Sol. Moses,
 Benj. Lequeux,
 Isaac Seigendorff,
 C. W. Crouch,
 J. E. Mehrdens,
 E. Devineau,
D. A. Amme,

Sam'l. F. Lequeux,	T. C. Comier,	Chas. H. West, Junr.,
James W. May,	Samuel D. Stoney,	E. P. Milliken,
B. Gardin,	Joseph Prevost,	James Adger,
T. Burke,	Wm. E. Procter,	Wm. Adger,
Henry Gerdts,	Benj. C. Locke,	E. H. Frost,
Isaac S. Riddell,	Henry R. Stocker,	J. A. Bailey,
C. Sahlmann,	J. A. Burckmyer,	W. G. Jeffords,
James M. Caldwell,	H. Z. Laurey,	Geo. Cotchett,
S. T. Robinson,	Geo. W. Olney,	Alex. R. Mitchell,
John Wilkes,	E. C. Jones,	A. F. Ravenel,
James K. Robinson,	Joseph A. Enslow,	T. L. Ogier, M. D.,
M. W. St. Amand,	Geo. N. Reynolds, Jr.,	F. C. Prioleau,
Thomas A. Croft,	Jacob Cohen,	James A. Gunnison,
A. St. Amand,	N. S. King,	Henry Cobia,
T. B. Trout,	R. White,	Joseph Aubin,
G. Gaetjens,	John T. Darby,	Thos. N. Gadsden,
James Bancroft,	H. Bartlett,	J. L. Dawson, M. D.
Geo. M. Goodwin,	Thomas J. Kerr,	A. O. Andrews,
B. Lanneau,	J. L. DeLange,	James Kerner,
Nathan A. Cohen,	Lewis F. Robertson,	P. Mahon,
Aaron N. Cohen, Jr.	Richard Cunningham,	W. H. Betts,
Thomas McMillan,	L. Parish Ashby,	Henry T. Street,
E. J. Meyer,	Henry J. Neville,	Henry S. Griggs,
James Preston,	George E. Gibbon,	Francis S. Parker,
William McClure,	Gusts. Follin,	Motte A. Pringle,
W. D. Locke,	P. F. Smith,	John L. Hedley,
James B. Riley,	Thos. B. Heriot,	Peter B. Lalane,
James P. Stuart,	James Poyas,	T. D. Mathews,
Jno. McKenzie,	R. C. Davis,	Jabez Norton,
Barth'w. Foley,	T. L. Wragg,	C. Pansin,
Wm. T. R. Harden,	Michael Webb,	A. B. Wilson,
Charles Clark,	W. Nayler,	W. A. Young,
J. B. Carberry,	J. E. Adger,	W. Shepherd,
W. C. Smith,	Joseph Whilden,	Edwin Heriot,
B. F. Moise,	S. S. Farrar,	J. G. Mackey,
Geo. Heron,	Stephen Owens,	Geo. Cannon,
Edwin Hamilton,	John Boyce,	J. Van Winkle,
Thomas G. Budd,	W. H. Davis,	Thos. J. Burdell,
J. B. Duval,	Charles F. Levy,	William Rennett,
Wm. J. McClure,	John Brady,	Matthew Pearce,
W. J. Skrine,	John C. Blackwood,	Jno. T. Lindsay,
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Chas. W. Montgomery,	Thos. H. Dewees,	W. L. Porter,
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Rufus Fairchild,	E. W. Petit,	F. Fisher,
Edwin Welling,	R. L. Stewart,	G. Garrett,
Alex. Owens,	A. Moise, Junr.,	Jacob F. Schirmer,

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John Klinek,	W. Alston Gourdin,	G. W. Wienges,
Wm. Young,	N. Heyward Gibbes,	A. Moise,
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Henry D. Loper,	R. Cullinan,	Wm. Lloyd,
D. J. Cain,	Theo. D. Ruddock,	Wm. G. Lloyd,
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Wm. P. Lea, Senr.	T. A. P. Horton,	James T. Ogilvie,
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Louis D. Mowry,	A. Butterfield,	Nicholas Wynne,
Langford P. H. Close,	Edward A. West,	S. T. Weinholtz,
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Julius M. Woolf,	C. J. Bailey,	John A. Gyles,
Nicholas Froelich,	D. Barrow,	Charles P. Fraser,
E. Sommers,	J. M. Seixas,	P. Weber,
M. Koopman,	George Kinloch,	Isaac Davega,
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Miles Drake,	Edward McCready,	C W Seignous,
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A. E. Miller,	H. L. Darr,	Gerd Reicke,
Joseph Johnson,	Thos. E. Chapman,	James W Williams,
James McCabe,	John Bonnell, Jr.,	M Walch,
William Kirkwood,	Robert Adger,	W P Chandler,
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Jacob Hincken,	Jr. Macaulay,	H Bulwinkle, Jr.,
F. Skrader,	Donald McQueen,	W S Parker,
Thos. C. Oxlade,	R. A. Tavel,	G F Meldau,
John Russell,	Edwin P. Starr,	Adolph Beckman,
M. C. Mordecai,	J. N. Cardozo,	John Heesemann,
Jos. T. Caldwell,	Thos. Arnold,	S Daggett,

J C Blohard, Bernard O'Neill,
J O Evans, Wm Procter,
C McKenzie, I S Cohen,
John Keiffer, Winborn Lawton,
Benj McInnes, Wm Rogers,
M Weatherhorn, John C Martin,
A Musso. W Alston Pringle,
Antonio Remonsetto, James S Gibbes,
Peter Darcy. John Phillips,
John B Beckmann, Wm B Yates,
Richard M Collins, Thomas Frost,
Wm P Sharp, A M Huger,
Eugene Vente, Henry C King,
Henry L Williams, John Mahoney,
J D Habenich, A Gordon,
James Angelo, James Rose,
John O'Sullivan, P G Gerard,
Joseph Shepherd, Dunbar Paul,
Theodore Cordes, John Drummond,
C J Beckmann, John T Marshall,
Peter Murphy, Henry Missroon,
Henry A Thompson, Charles H West,
C Kellers, Theodore Matthiessen,
Emanuel Bueno, B F DeBow,
John Dowling, C C Trumbo,
A Nimitz, Wm Canney,
Henry Goldsmith, E Cheney, Jr.,
Jos Patani, Wm G Mood,
Thomas Ryan, J F Ficken,
Z B Oakes, J H Norton,
Wm Thompson, Robert Munro,
M McBride, S Valentine,
Richard Hogan, H Gissel,
Patrick Hogan, E Poincignon,
George Thompson, James E Smith,
Wm Kelly, Joseph Zealy,
Jno Burns, Isaac S K Bennett,
Wm H Gilliland, William Curtis,
John Williamson, Hugh E Vineent,
A J Burke, Geo W Davis,
Samuel G Courtenay, James Robertson,
Charles L Edwards, Thos Trout,
John Cheesborough, A H Chisolm,
J K Sass, James W Cleapor,
C McKinney, Loftus C Clifford,
James R Bee, Wm Bird,
William Greer, J E Walker,
George Hervey, H S Rice
Mordecai Hyams, Alfred H Dunkin,
T Y Simons, Jr, Louis J Barbot,
J D Ravina, Jno Tarrant,
Jno Tarrant, Jos F Tarrant,
Wm Horn, Jas W Brown,
Jas W Brown, Simpson Adkins,
Wm H Jones, Peter J Sires,
Peter J Sires, R C Gilchrist,
R C Gilchrist, Otis Phillips,
Otis Phillips, St John Phillips, M D,
C D Young, C D Young,
L T Potter, L T Potter,
A Guynemer, A Guynemer,
John F O'Neill, John F O'Neill,
A Canale, A Canale,
H Fisher, H Fisher,
J M P Foster, J M P Foster,
H D Alexander, H D Alexander,
Phineas Pierce, Phineas Pierce,
George Edwards, George Edwards,
L Burke, L Burke,
W B Fickling, W B Fickling,
Tho W Malone, Tho W Malone,
Fred Kinloch, Fred Kinloch,
Patriek Collins, Patriek Collins,
J Campsen, Jules Lachicotte,
Jules Lachicotte, Chas J Prince,
Chas J Prince, John F Strecklass,
John F Strecklass, James McCarey,
James McCarey, Morris Meyer,
Morris Meyer, J M Mulvany,
J M Mulvany, James Cartfield,
James Cartfield, Grinda O'Kane,
Grinda O'Kane, J R Brewster,
J R Brewster, David S Little,
David S Little, Henry A Mullings,
Henry A Mullings, John H Burk,
John H Burk, Wm Mullings,
Wm Mullings, Colin Campbell,

Samuel Bell,	Thadeus C Hubbel,,	J. S. Riggs, Sen.
M L Lafar,	O Tiedeman, .	Wm. B. Ryan
James O'Neale,	H Tiencke,	Joseph McCall
C H Pankuin,	John Staunton,	Andrew Cunningham
Henry Buist,	Wm Flynn,	Seth Spencer
James B Cunningham,	John P Williams,	Francis Sires,
John Mealy,	Thomas Hickner,	B. Hallings
J H Konig,	M H Pooser,	J. S. Riggs, Jr.
W F Jenkins,	Thomas Dixon,	E. C. Palmer
G C Timmons,	Robert H Norman,	Edward Mitchell, M. D.
B Figeroux,	Peter H Ulmo,	L. Lubken
Geo Granstein,	Joseph Poulnot,	John Donald,
Henry Campsen,	S S Lloyd,	Samuel Burke
Jno B McClure,	W H Boring,	C Nimitz
P Goubrignier,	G W Falmestock,	William Reed
Wm H Ward,	R Stinton,	Walter Webb,
P Hauscheldt,	S Holway,	Luder Johnson
John Smyth,	T Melcher,	William Robb
John Martin,	John Clear,	J. C. Klein
James English,	John Wilson,	H. Schrage
J H Renneker,	John Butler,	Robert Stewart
John F Poppenheim,	Gilbert Perd,	T. Alexander Broughton
Francis J Selzer,	Wm Culbert,	C. Waterman
Jesse Lloyd	Wm Schwartz,	John Puntt
Oswell Reeder,	J J Weinges,	S. A. Benjamin
John H Greer,	Hugh Mair,	William P. Starr
M B Reeder,	H French,	John H. Wilkenning
John M Calvitt,	Joseph G Thorpe,	James Quin
James Kirker,	Anthony Dunivan,	W. B. Terrell
John Gordon,	Thomas Flynn,	A. Adams
Chas Wm Simons,	John Culbert,	W. N. Parsell
Wm C Leak,	John H Thee,	H. Oldenbuttel
Benjamin Bross,	Robert Foss,	Wm. L. Bartlett,
E M Whiting,	Joseph B Mars,	Sam A. Nelson
John Clarke,	Th Eyme,	C. B. Sigwald
P H Moore,	Thomas Goldrick,	F. Y. Porcher, M. D.
H B Waters,	S McLaughlin,	James Dilingham
Michael Arnau,	R Hartley	H. Harrenburg
A G Barton,	John Vineyard,	R. T. Bunch
John Mahoney,	Patrick Brady,	John G. Beverson
C Erickson,	M Goldsmith,	W. H. Gibson
Peter G Barker,	Stephen Farmer,	B. Weinberg
John Blake,	A Della Tre,	R. W. Seymour
John Mar.,	Wm M Dubose,	Dan Ferguson
James Carroll,	John O'Brien,	John J. Bluett
Wm H Bartless,	Benjamin F Moore,	William Teppe
J B Otten,	George Jackson	Henry Heye
		Thomas D. Fell
		A. J. Buckner
		Wm. F. Simons
		Charles Ludic
		Samuel Samson
		James B. Wattles
		Charles H. Gerdes
		A. Morein
		Peter O'Gorman
		Thomas Maher

M. Divine	N. E. Hall	A. S. Johnson
J. Divine	P. Dreyer	A. J. Norman
Thomas Knight	A. T. Landon	D. Hayne
George S. Cameron	G. R. Rebkoff	J. C. Simons
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Henry Van Derzee	H. Bollman	H. C. Stoll
Hugh R. Banks	H. Myer	Wm. T. Chaplin
D. F. Fleming	M. Laux	Thomas Claggett
Wm. Harrall	F. Carsten	John F. B. Ihre
S. J. Hull	B. Eastrang	M. A. Warmamaker
John M. Walton	N. P. Smith	Wm. Soules
Alexander W. Duffus	R. Goldberg	A. Anderson
S. Thomas	R. M. Hardwick	A. H. Morse
L. Crane	J. Schneider	H. Hastedt
John Burke	P. Rembert	Wm. Longhary
J. Mack	A. Myer	Jas. G. Wheeler
John V. Lyon	H. Nathan	James Longhary
L. Barber	F. A. Beecher	J. W. J. Pierson
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Wm. B. Russell	John A. Comings	Phillip F. Davis
Charles Linstedt,	C. Schwing	P. Bahaeer
George Linstedt	Daniel H. Silcox	Thomas O'Riley
P. Beyer Umsted	John A. Schondt	Jacob Cook
J. C. E. Richardson	M. W. Cross	Henry Mehrten, Sr.
John Nolm	James Robt. Jr.	C. V. Hadein
Hugh Duffy	Benjamin J. Lequeux	Martin Moore
Thomas Johnson	H. M. Norris	Edward Farmer
Morris Roach	John Ansel	J. Mehrten
Patrick Barden	T. A. Honour	R. Sprigg
John Topham	Wm. Stone	M. Cahill
F. W. Benseman	G. W. Patterson	John A. Cook
James Ruth	A. Doty.	M. Callan
James Kelly	Wm. H. Ladson	Isaiah Moses
Henry Hancock,	Charles B. Lucas	W. Hummel
Henry Humphreys	G. W. Sass	F. W. Dill
John McCann	Parker J. Holland	S. G. W. Dill
W. H. Burrell	Allard H. Belin	B. J. E. Hatcher
C. B. Russet	J. W. Holmes	P. W. Seyle
Mark Malay	Benjamin Lucas,	H. Nachman
L. E. Stoppelbein	D. Pinckney J. Linstone	Henry Octien
Albert J. Russell	Edward Mitchell	Henry Henken
S. G. Crugler	E. Marion Mitchell	Thomas Dailey
B. G. Willys	C. G. Memminger	James Keehan
Abraham Polk	F. Pauls	George P. Williams
R. C. only	J. Beesley	C. W. Watkins
A. S. Wiley	P. B. Bennett	F. P. Thackum
Alex'r J. Champlin	Michael Donoghue	F. Duport
Peter C. Mousseau	James Meagher	W. M. Salvo
N. H. Lebby	E. Geddings, M. D.	Benjamin Greer
R. G. Simmons	James P. Jersey	Joseph B. Lloyd
M. Pecare	Wm. P. Patterson	C. C. Miller
P. G. Hargrave	A. A. Weber	John Fawcett
O. P. Stanley	Benj. Chaplin	Edward Milligan
F. R. White	Robert Smith	William H. Cox
S. Purcell	Granville W. Buzby	James Hiott
P. Brandon	John H. Steinmeyer	Charles P. Petit
C. Forkill	Joseph T. Sanders	John G. Martin

D. McDonald	James Hannahan	Patrick Mahoney
John Schroder	Henry Hatch	Michael McManner
Fredk. Frieze,	J. F. Addison	Thomas Hallis
G. M. Evans	J. C. Heynes	Patrick Conhooy
John Charlton	Robert McDermid	George Astle
John J. Bunch	James Daggan	F. Stinte
Thomas C. Cook,	David McDougal	P. Brady
W. W. Brown	E. B. Baker	Peter Esnard
James Jeffreys	A. Steinbeck	E. H. Stelling
G. Dunlap	A. Roulain	T. A. Glade
F. Gilles	A. L. Hill	A. J. Lapenne
James B. Morris	W. H. Day	H. Pauls
G. A. Schneckenberger	Styles Fisk	Nathaniel C. Mitchell
T. North	John McKay	Wm. Cross
John Dooley	John B. Gibbes	Paul Jones
A. Seeley	S. S. Roberts	A. Barton
Geo. S. Douglas	James E. Spear	John Wincey
C. T. Dunham	O Taylor,	Benjamin Lucas
Robert H. Thompson	Charles Hart	Wm. Lloyd
Thomas F. Deneux	Robert A. Wallace	A. Dorrill
Wm. McBurney	John McIlroy	D. B. Hasselton
Wm. C. Rising	Thomas Carty	Henry Clark
L. S. Knowlton	P. Shehan	Samuel E. Axson
Daniel Mixer	John Egan	Christopher Geraty
James L. Brawley	George Walker	A. K. Long
Charles H. Baird	J. Bohall	Joseph H. Oliver
E. J. Folger	Robert H. Thomlinson	Samuel Ginnis
Henry Hynes	L. Avery	James Ravenel
H. Shokes	Eneas Smyth	J. F. Frideman
Archibald Cameron	S. Bunch	Edward Henry
L. W. Daggett	H. Antley	Thomas J. Knauft
Nathaniel Tylee, jr.	A. F. Bize	F. C. Miller
Matt. Muller	J. Dufort	R. N. Lord
Alexander G. Chalmers	J. P. Reid	D. Bulkley
Wm. Estill	Joseph Torlay	A. Marines
F. Canninade	W. H. Purse	John Woodweou
A. J. Crews	L. D. Passalaigue	John A. Kelly
Wm. W. Beckman	Frederick A. Ford	G. H. Veronee
J. A. Lockwood	J. mes Moultrie, M. D.	J. Hewitt
Wm. M. Sage	William Thayer	Thomas Airs
Patrick Carroll	George Buist	P. M. Avenny
J. Lucas	David Mustard	A. P. Smith
John Carnighan	Robert McKay	Richard Yeadon
Henry D. Lesesne	Robert Cameron	B. Carrall
M. L. Wilkins	Thomas Herbert	A. Barbot
John Drayton Ford	Julius W. Wolff,	Aug. E. Cohen
Henry R. Frost	Jacob Meyer	John Sassard
Abraham C. Romaine	Ferdinand M. Gregory,	W. B. Moore
W. Aiken Martin	P. T. Middleton	Peter J. Fink
Robert Martin, Jr.	James W. Wilson	B. H. Fink
Thomas Della Torre	Joseph T. Dill	C. Bonner
A. DeCaradeuc	Patrick McDonnell	H. Plein
John M. Greer	John Money	George O. Robinson
L. A. Smith	Charles McCarty	Robert Evans
H. W. Peronneau	Peter Della Torre	Gustavus Salvo
Hemich Humme	Edmund Burke	Jacob H. Wise
D. Werner	S. Lapenne	H. J. Harby
J. Payre	Thomas Hennessey	David H. Deveaux

C. W. Brundt	Joseph L. Brugger	P. M. Doucinc
Daniel Petigrue	Thomas R. Egleston	John P. Laborde
F. Charlow	John W. Dorman	P. H. McDonnell
A. Koeunecke	Maier Triest	T. H. Berry
W. C. Richards	Joseph Triest	David E. Johns
John Corby, Sr.	W. H. Moore	M. T. Mendenhall
W. Logan	Marks Levy	Leopold Cohn
Hamilton Slawson, Jr.	Aaron Loryea	Samuel Cruikshank
Josh L. Venning	F. C. Lynch	John Forrest,
T. O. Elliott	M. Winstock	J. S. Meniken
H. W. Schroder	John W. Bize	A. Gambati
Charles E. Kanapeaux	Peter Kennedy	Michael Murray
R. S. H. Hannahan	F. Lampe	Thomas Maysey
G. Sergeant	T. L. Quackenbush	Daniel G. Wayne
S. Kingman	Joseph F. O'Hear	W. J. Bennett
T. Heyward Thayer	R. Anderson	Lewis Rebb
Thomas Gates	Charles Bremer	S. D. Parker
T. C. Prioleau	Nathan Emanuel	B. Mordecai
Fleetwood Lanneau	James A. Middleton	Henry Ashe
John 'reston	E. W. Brown	Thomas Addison
John F. Stafford	C. G. Martin	A. T. J. LaCoste
W. S. Adams	E. T. Howard	A. Roumillat
L. V. Martin	Alfred Wise	Thomas H. Dillingham
George Christofel	Joseph W. Harrison	W. T. Wragg, M. D.
L. F. Petit	John Hill	E. M. Broughton
David E Jones	David Jacobs	Martin McMaster
Henry Solee	Wm. F. White	T. W. Riggs
R H Brodie	Francis Clarke	Thomas E. H. Miles
P S Chase	Owen Campbell	T. W. Albergotie
Angus Wilson	George Reicke	Samuel W. Wiley
Joseph Wilson	H Kembling	S. Montgomery
Thomas F Cumming	H Broyman	John M. Bryan
John Symons	C M Logan	P. V. Powell
Henry Winthrop, M. D.	J. W. Kane	Charles Campbell
J Emanuel	Robert W. Burnham	A. Pelerin
Wm C Graham, M. D.	G. W. Birkman	Wm. M. Moody, Jr.
John Corby, Jr.	Daniel Maguire	L. M. Aubert
W J Wiley	J. Wheaton	William McIntosh
John Caldwell, Sen.	James Caldwell.	

GREAT SOUTHERN RIGHTS AND SOUTHERN CO-OPERATION MEETING.

In pursuance of a call, which had been very numerously signed, a meeting was held, on the evening of the 29th July, 1851, at the Hibernian Hall, in Charleston, of those "who are in favor of co-operation for the purpose of resistance, and opposed to Separate State action, under existing circumstances." Notwithstanding the storm and heavy rain, which occurred at the hour for assembling, the meeting was very large, filling the Hall, and many who came failed to gain an entrance. Not only in regard to numbers, but in the earnest enthusiasm of those who were assembled, and the patriotic spirit with which it was animated, it evinced the high resolve which governed those who were anxious to dis-

charge their duty to the State, with a deep regard to the momentous consequences which were involved.

At the appointed hour, NELSON MITCHELL, Esq., moved the organization of the meeting, and the appointment of the following officers:

President.

JOHN RUTLEDGE, Esq.

Vice-Presidents.

Hon. Dan. E Huger	W M Lawton	J F Steinmyer
" Thomas Bennett	John Vinyard	Dr St John Phillips
" William Aiken	James Poyas	James Chapman
" James Rose	Hugh R Banks	Col A P Hayne
" J B Grimball	William Bird	George Thompson
" Mitchell King	W H Houston	John Klinek
" T L Hutchinson	M C Mordecai	Col B F Hunt
" John Schnierle	James Welsman	" James S Shingler
Gen. S Cruikshank	W H Gilliland	" Thomas O Elliott
Dr Samuel H Dickson	Dr. E Geddings	Edward McCrady
Dr Henry R Frost	Charles Alston, Sen.	Edward P Milliken
James Adger	Wm Henry Heyward	Col A H Belin
H W Peronneau	Dr James Moultrie	John H Honour
Wm Bull Pringle	Henry A Middleton	James Lamb
Charles T Lowndes	Arthur G Rose	Thomas Ryan
C G Memminger	James H Ladson	Dr C C Pritchard
J L Bowie	Geo N Reynolds, Jr	James M Caldwell
Dr Benjamin Huger	Charles Macbeth	James E Walker
W C Dukes	Dr Thomas Y Simons	Henry Gourdin
Dr Elias Horlbeck	Thaddeus Street	James Robertson

Secretaries.

C Richardson Miles	Edward J Pringle
Thomas Frost	John Seigling, Jr
Sam D Stoney	Charles H West, jr

The following letters were then read, by A. G. MAGRATH, Esq., having been received in reply to the invitations, which had been addressed to these gentlemen, to be present at the meeting. The reading of these letters aroused the meeting to the highest point. At the announcement of the name of the venerable LANGDON CHEVES, repeated cheers strongly told how deep was the respect cherished by our citizens for this eminent statesman, so truly worthy of the appellation of our Nestor, in this momentous crisis. The letter from Col. ORR and those from the other gentlemen, which are published, were also received with marks of the highest approbation:

LETTER OF HON. LANGDON CHEVES.

SAVANNAH, JULY 26th, 1851.

Gentlemen—I have had the honor to receive your note of the 22d inst.

I am both flattered and obliged by the invitation which it contains, as well as by the manner of it; and I regret very much that it is altogether out of my power to attend the meeting. I concur entirely in the object of the meeting. I have, several times within the last twenty years, entered publicly my protest against separate State action. Of the right of a State to secede from the Union, I have never had a shadow of doubt. That right is the right of a sovereign State. A right of which, a sovereign State cannot be divested: and the only real question is, are the States of the Union sovereign States of which, I suppose, no Southern man will venture to express a doubt. But, I think separate secession, though an undoubted, legal and public right is scarcely a moral and social one on the part of one Southern State in reference to her sister States of the South. Their relations of unity are so many so homogeneous and so strong, as to amount to destiny. God and nature have combined them by such social adhesion, such homogeneousness of interests, by such great and benign sympathies of blood, of character and historical action, as to make their separation deplorable, dangerous and unwise. And what reason, is there, to despair of their union? The precise question under discussion is not a year old. I think, indeed, this is more than time enough to make us certain of our injuries—they are so great and obvious, and to satisfy us that we cannot exist under the present Government of the United States, without being a degraded and oppressed people. But, I should think it nevertheless a short time, within which, for a people to be required to decide on a question so momentous as a great revolutionary change of government; for such, undoubtedly secession must be considered. For myself, I think we ought to secede—but not alone; and I have an ardent hope and a sanguine belief, that the Southern States will resist, by a united effort though not on the instant. We have few perhaps no examples of such speed in the movement of nations, and, if we have any, I believe, the results will not be found to have been always happy.

I pray God to inspire your deliberations with his wisdom, his truth and his power.

I am gentlemen, with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

LANGDON CHEVES.

Messrs. A. G. Magrath and others, Committee, &c. &c. Charleston, S.C.

LETTER OF HON. J. L. ORR.

ANDERSON, JULY 24th, 1851.

Gentlemen—It is a source of profound regret to me, that a previous engagement, precludes the possibility of my attending your meeting on the 29th inst.

Meetings all over the State by the Co-operationists are imperatively demanded, if the State is to be saved from the perils of secession. The sentiments offered at the 4th of July celebrations in the parishes, (and you have no doubt, observed, that nearly all the exhibition of public opinion,

in favor of separate State action, has come from one Congressional district in the parishes.) evince a spirit of proscription and intolerance, against the co operationists, which furnishes a beautiful commentary on the professions of the actionists, that they desire harmony may be preserved in the State. I have no doubt that they will give us the harmony which the wolf gives to the lamb.

If the State is to be put upon the perils of secession, and your beautiful city is to share the fate of Moscow, in God's name, let it not be done by a minority of the people. If the immediate actionists have by accident, secured a majority of the Convention, and are resolved in pushing their advantage to the uttermost limit, we have no recourse left, but to instruct the delegates elect, through public meetings of the people. I had hoped that the Convention would be left untrammeled, to act with wisdom according to circumstances when it assembled.

The late proceedings of the actionists, wherever they have the strength to move, has dispelled that illusion, and if the schemes of the leaders cannot be frustrated, then secession is a fixed fact. The people, however, in my judgment, are not with them, and whenever the issue is made, the self-appointed leaders will be routed—overwhelmed by the voice of the people rebuking their temerity. In such an issue, gentlemen, they will be beaten in the mountain districts. Our people here are not submissionists—nearly all are for resistance, and for efficient resistance, to the Clay Compromise—but they have yet to be convinced that they have more courage and patriotism than their Georgia and North Carolina neighbors. They have too much modesty to thrust themselves forward as the only champions of Southern Rights and Southern honor. They believe that Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi are as spirited as South-Carolina, and that there is no very startling disgrace in their waiting for the co-operation of these States.

I am gratified that you have originated the meeting in Charleston. Every South-Carolinian has vital interest in this question, but the people of your city are peculiarly involved, when you are advertized in advance that you can become a second Moscow without exciting any sympathy from the interior. The meeting will have a happy influence, and will, I trust, be followed up by other meetings of our friends in every district and parish in the State, and the seal of condemnation, by the people, put upon the rash and unfortunate move of separate State action.

I am, very truly, yours, &c.,

JAMES L. ORR.

Messrs. A. G. Magrath, and others, Committee.

COL. CHESNUT'S LETTER.

CAMDEN, JULY 27th, 1851.

Gentlemen—A few days since I received your letter of the 19th instant, inviting me to be present at a meeting of the citizens of Charleston, to be held on Tuesday, the 29th July instant, for the purpose of defining their position in reference to the present political position of the State, as favour-

able to co-operation for the purpose of resistance and opposed to separate State action under existing circumstances.

I feel and acknowledge the honor of your invitation, and regret that I am not able to be present.

I agree entirely in the position you have indicated, and think it points to the only true and wise policy for the State. A concerted action on the part of the Southern States, must produce redress and security in the Union, or result in our independence as a Southern Confederacy out of it. With either condition I believe South-Carolina would be satisfied. For myself, however, I consider the first not very probable and prefer the latter as furnishing the only permanently safe condition. Any step, therefore, which leads to the attainment of this end, has my hearty concurrence, and will receive whatever support I can give.

While the citizens of Charleston to this great end feel it necessary to "define their position," I am assured that it will be so done as to give no just cause of dissatisfaction to a considerable portion of the resistance party who are separated from us, I feel a strong hope (as their policy is disapproved by a large majority of the State) that they will in their patriotism fall back cheerfully upon us and co-operate for a great and common purpose.

I have the honor to be

Your fellow citizen,

JAMES CHESNUT, Jr.

To Messrs. A. G. Magrath, N. Mitchell, P. D. Torre, and others.

Immediately after the reading of these letters, Col. ISAAC W. HAYNE, announced that the Hon. ROBERT W. BARNWELL, and the Hon. A. P. BUTLER, were in the city, and moved that a Committee of Three be appointed to conduct these gentlemen to the Hall, and that out of respect to them, the business of the meeting should be suspended until their arrival. The motion was adopted, and Col. HAYNE, A. H. DUNKIN, Esq., and P. D. TORRE, Esq., were appointed the Committee.

At the return of the Committee, accompanied by these distinguished gentlemen the warmest and most enthusiastic welcome greeted them; and conveyed to them the assurance of the deep anxiety felt by all classes of our community, that the city and country should remain, as they ever had been, united in feeling, and following the advice of those, whose patriotic devotion to their State, had been among the chief elements of a character, which ennobled them and dignified their State.

W. PERONNEAU FINLEY, Esq., then rose, and after a brief address, introduced the following resolutions :

RESOLUTIONS:

- Resolved*, That the aggressive measures of the Federal Government, in connexion with various exhibitions of public sentiment by the people of the North, through their State Governments and otherwise, for a series of years, indicate, in our opinion, a deep rooted hostility to the interests of the South, and

a settled purpose to deprive the Southern States, on account of their peculiar Institutions, of their original rank as Sovereigns and Equals in this Confederacy; and that the inevitable result of such proceedings, if allowed to take their course, must be ultimately the entire abolition of negro slavery in the South, and the erection, in place of our Federal Union, of a Consolidated Government, alike despotic and irresponsible.

2. *Resolved*, That in view of the humiliating condition of the Slaveholding States in this Confederacy—their rights violated—their Institutions proscribed—their character vilified—their offers of compromise rejected—and in view of the still greater dangers which are impending over them, we believe the time has come when this Union should be dissolved, and a new Government organized on the basis of a Southern Confederacy. But while such is our deliberate opinion as to our wrongs and our remedy, we would still be willing to give a trial, fairly and in good faith, to any plan, short of dissolving the Union, which our sister States of the South may propose, for re-instating us in the possession of our Equal Rights, and providing us with adequate guarantees of our future security.

3. *Resolved*, That as the subject of the controversy in which we are engaged is not peculiar to South-Carolina, but equally concerns the other slave-holding States of this Union, our only true policy and most proper mode of procedure, is, in our opinion, to make common cause with our aggrieved confederates; and unite with them in counsel and action to obtain redress for our common wrongs; “such concert of action,” according to the views of our own Calhoun, being “the one thing needful,” whether to save the Union, or if (as we believe) that be now too late, then “to save ourselves.”

4. *Resolved*, That in the present aspect of our political affairs, we deprecate the separate secession of South-Carolina from the Union: 1st. Because it is due to our Southern confederates having a common interest and threatened by a common danger, to take counsel with them, and especially with such of their citizens as are known to be our faithful and devoted friends, as to the mode and measures of redress for our common wrongs; and because our precipitate secession from the Union, in opposition to their views and wishes, would seem as if we claimed to be the exclusive champions of Southern Rights—an assumption which could not but be regarded as arrogant in us, and insulting to them—thus, in place of harmony of feeling, and concert of action, provoking jealousies, and sowing the seeds of discord between us and our natural allies, and operating to

prevent the formation of a Southern Confederacy. 2d. Because our separate secession would be eminently premature and unwise at this time, when we may fairly calculate on the co-operation of other States at no distant period, since the effect of renewed agitation and continued aggression by Northern fanatics—results which may be regarded as absolutely certain, must inevitably be, to bring up some of our sister states of the South to the same position which we now occupy, and thus operate to ensure the formation of a Southern Confederacy. 3. Because South-Carolina, by separate secession, would be placed in the attitude of a Foreign Government to the other slaveholding States of this Union, the effect of which would be, that, under the laws of Congress, prohibiting the migration or importation of slaves from a foreign country into the United States, we should be subjected practically to the "Wilmot Proviso," in its most aggravated form. 4th. Because in all her public resolves, South-Carolina has given no other pledge—has avowed no other determination, than to co-operate with her sister States of the South in resisting these aggressions; and, Finally, Because in the present posture of affairs, to dissolve our Union with the South, and thus isolate ourselves from the sympathies and support of those with whom we are bound together in a common destiny, would be not only abortive as a measure of deliverance, but if not utterly suicidal in its effects, in the highest degree dangerous to the stability of our institutions.

5. *Resolved*, that while we are opposed to the separate secession of South-Carolina from the Union without the concurrence and co-operation of at least some other slave holding State, or the reasonable assurance that such would be the result of her separate action, we hold the right of a State to secede, as no longer an open question, and as essential to the sovereignty and freedom of each member of this Confederacy.

6. *Resolved*, That as our hope of deliverance at this crisis rests on the formation of a Southern Confederacy—a conclusion which we believe to be entertained by a large majority of the people of South-Carolina—we would earnestly invoke the early action of our State Convention, whenever it shall be assembled, to devise and adopt such measures as in their wisdom shall seem most effectual to bring about a system of concert and co-operation among the slaveholding States in resisting the aggressions of the Federal Government; and also as representing the Sovereignty of South-Carolina to determine by a solemn ordinance what relation to that Government it shall meanwhile become us to occupy ; and at the same time to prescribe to the

constituted authorities of the State, such a course of action as will enable them to take advantage of all emergencies, and to be prepared for all results.

After the reading of the resolutions, the meeting was addressed by Hon. A. P. BUTLER, in opposition to separate State action. Although evidently laboring under severe indisposition, he spoke with animation and great effect. As we hope to be able to publish his remarks in full, we forbear further comment at present.

The Hon. ROBERT W. BARNWELL followed in an address of considerable length, addressed to the point of the inability of the State to sustain herself alone, and the folly of looking to Great Britain for countenance and aid. He expressed fully the abolition policy of that nation, as exemplified by her acts for many years. He referred to the great sacrifice at which she had abolished slavery in her own dominions, and to the fact that in her offer to Texas, the abolition of slavery was one of the conditions.

Both speakers studiously refrained from any appeals to the passions or fears of the audience, and sustained their views of this great question in calm and forcible argument.

As the resolutions offered by Mr. FINLEY were about to be submitted to the meeting, a resolution was read by Mr. B. R. CARROLL as to the treason of such as should oppose the action of the State. After a few earnest remarks, by the Rev. Mr. YATES and Dr. A. G. MACKAY, against any attempt on the part of such as were known to be opposed to the objects of the meeting to discuss its proceedings, it seemed to be regarded as an unwarrantable interference, and a motion to lay it on the table was adopted by an overwhelming vote.

The resolutions offered by Mr. FINLEY were then put and *adopted* with great unanimity.

The following resolutions were offered by Mr. M. C. MORDECAI, and unanimously adopted :

Resolved, That, inasmuch as the organization of The Auxiliary Southern Rights Association is now recognised as intended to advance the doctrine of separate State action, it is incumbent on those who are prepared to stand by the Resolutions just adopted, to make equal preparation for the just maintenance of the doctrines that we believe essential to the welfare and honor of South-Carolina.

Resolved, That a Committee of Vigilance and Conference, to consist of one hundred members, be appointed by the chair, whose duty it shall be to recommend such measures as shall be, in their judgment, best calculated to unite the public sentiment of our city and State in the support of the principles we have now openly professed.

Resolved, That a Committee of Correspondence, to consist of twenty-five, be appointed by the chair, to correspond with our

fellow-citizens in this State and other Southern States, in relation to the great purpose of combining Southern feeling, and making it conduce to the great end of united Southern action.

The meeting then adjourned.

JOHN RUTLEDGE, *President.*

C. RICHARDSON MILES,
THOMAS FROST,
SAMUEL D. STONEY,
EDWARD J: PRINGLE,
JOHN SEIGLING, Jr.,
CHARLES H. WEST, Jr. } *Secretaries.*

LETTER OF GOV. CHARLES J. McDONALD.

SUMMERVILLE, GA., JULY 26, 1851.

Gentlemen—I received your note of invitation too late to answer it at home, and I seize a moment of leisure while travelling, to say that I cannot, if it were otherwise proper, be present at your meeting on the 29th inst. Much will depend on the result of your deliberations; and allow me to say, that the course your State may pursue is destined to have a tremendous influence for good or for evil on the Confederacy. That the great principles of equality and justice which lie at the foundation of the Constitution have been flagrantly violated by the admission of California with her usurped Constitution, into the Union, and the organization of territorial Governments in Utah and New Mexico, with the understanding by those who enacted the law for the purpose, that the Mexican law prohibiting slavery prevails there, over our own political regulations to exclude it therefrom, is unquestionable. It is equally clear that this utter disregard of Southern rights, has its foundation in a fixed purpose to abolish the institution of slavery in the States. The purpose is avowed over the whole North, that another State tolerating the institution of slavery shall never be admitted in the Union, except such as the Government is bound, by its compact with Texas, to admit. It will soon be insisted, I apprehend, that that compact has been abrogated by the *Compromise*, notwithstanding the stipulations in the bribery act, and a State erected on Texas territory will be refused admission, unless it prohibit slavery. The Constitution is then to be changed, and Congress is to acquire authority to interfere with and take away the property of the people of the States. The Constitution of our fathers, by the change, is to be despoiled of its excellence, and the rights which the States now have, to manage and regulate in their own way, their own affairs, is to be prohibited to them. The system of Government left by our ancestors, beautiful because if rightfully administered, it is just and equal, is to be transferred into a hideous system capable of wrong and injustice even when constitutionally administered. If the powers now held by the people of the States, and the States as independent

communities are to be consolidated, and placed in the hands of the General Government, the States of the North and North West, being most powerful in numbers, will have absolute control and dominion upon the rights and interests of the people in other sections.

Time will develope these things. They are in progress and will be accomplished. The people are to determine what is best to be done for their own protection, and the people of each State must determine for themselves. The right of a State to secede from the Union, is unquestionable. The secession of a State from the Union, being the exercise of a right reserved by the people in the Constitution, it being the exercise of a power not prohibited to the States, it follows that the government has no power to subjugate her. It being no offence against the Constitution, against the law of nations, nor against the rights of the general government it will be no cause of war. If the State secede, she will be a foreign State to all intents and purposes, and the general government can no more enforce its laws on her territory, than it can on the territory of any other foreign government. These positions are, I believe, undeniable. If your State were to secede from the Union, the General Government could not interfere to force her into the Union, nor could it enforce her laws over her. If the Government were to attempt it, it would light up a blaze of civil war, which could never be extinguished, but in the life's blood of the lovers of constitutional freedom. But I sincerely hope, that you will not take the assertion of these unquestionable propositions, as encouragement to proceed to extreme measures, to secession from the Union. There are Southern States which are in the same predicament with South-Carolina, which have been as much wronged and as injured by the unequal measures of Congress. Their people, however, do not see the danger to them so imminent, as do the people of your gallant State.

They hope, and they are led to hope, by men in whose judgment they have confided, that the hand of wrong has done its last work of injustice to them, and that the government has arrived at the point at which its aggressions will cease. The people of Georgia entertaining these opinions, have, in their sovereign capacity, determined to *abide* the wrongs they have suffered, and hope in the future fidelity of the Government to the constitution. You cannot expect, therefore, the co-operation of Georgia, in any measure of resistance, against the past measures of Congress. She has taken her ground, however, for the future, and declared what she will and ought to do, should the General Government continue its injustice and wrongs to the South. Whether any other Southern State would unite with you in seceding from the Union, I do not know. I think it extremely improbable. A large number of the people, in other States, who think with Carolina, that the wrongs of the Government are scarcely endurable, are unwilling to resort to so strong a measure of resistance. Is it not a matter well worthy to be considered by South-Carolina, whether it is not best to defer to the opinions of her sister States, equally wronged with herself; and whose sympathy she has, and not proceed separately and alone to a measure of at least questionable expediency? If the hopes of

other States are realized, and the Government returns to a due respect for the rights of the South, and a faithful administration of the Constitution I most respectfully ask, if it is not better to remain as we are, a united people? I think so decidedly; for all we want is a faithful administration of the Constitution. It will give us all our rights. I confess that my fears are, that these hopes are without solid foundation. But it is a matter that time must decide, and the decision will soon be made. If made against the constitutional rights of our people, we shall be as one man, in any measure necessary to the safety and happiness of all having a common interest.

I would ask if it would not be best to base your action upon the common public sentiment of the aggrieved States. I assure you that the people are properly appreciating the danger of tolerating palpable violations of the Constitution, and unless they can have their rights respected, they will take no step backwards; their march will be onward, until all the rights they are entitled to under the Constitution are respected and protected.

I must beg to be pardoned, from the interest I feel in this subject, for inviting your attention to a matter which has doubtless been well considered by you and the people of your State, generally. If South-Carolina resorts to secession and separates herself from the Federal Government, she will be a Foreign Government to all intents and purposes. She will be subject to all the policy adopted by our Government in relation to foreign Governments. The same duties collected on foreign importations, will be collected on merchandize, coming through and from Carolina. Your great and growing seaport will be subjected to disadvantages that cannot now be well estimated; and if your example of secession should not be followed, it does not require much political sagacity to foresee the difficulties to which you will be subjected. I trust that whatever you do may be followed by the good it is intended to produce.

I have ever been opposed to any national policy based on sectional considerations; but that policy has been brought upon us, and the Southern States, co-equals with the rest in the Confederacy, are treated as inferiors—their rights have been disregarded, and new injuries are threatened against them. If these are inflicted, the consequences must be upon the authors. I have no doubt but what you do will be done upon due deliberation, and upon a firm conviction that it is demanded by the occasion.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

CHARLES J. McDONALD.

To Messrs. A G Magrath, and others, Committee.

From the Southern Standard.

THE TRUE POSITION OF THE STATE.

No method of persuasion seems to be more confidently resorted to, by our secession advocates, than an appeal to the susceptible patriotism of our

citizens, not to cast upon the State the discredit which must attach to her, if she retreat or depart from the position which she has already assumed. We are proud to think that our citizens are sensitive on this point, and we doubt not that there are very many, who, otherwise unable to see that isolated secession, on the part of South-Carolina, is the part either of discretion or duty, might easily be prevented from opposing it, if they believed that the State had really pledged herself to such a step. But let not the repetition or vehemence of these appeals, mislead any as to the existence of the facts on which they are founded. Let them not mistake the conclusions of associations, or the counsels and harangues of those who would change her previous position, for her decision. It is a question of fact, and the only conclusive mode of disposing of it, is to appeal to the record. We will there see to what she is really committed, and for that purpose, we will bring to the public attention this *evidence*, as a substitute for argument. In 1848 she adopted the following:

Extract from the Reports and Resolutions, 1848, p. 147, Joint Committee on Federal Relations.

In the House of Representatives, December 12, 1848. The Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Representatives upon Federal Relations, to whom were referred so much of the Governor's Message as relates to the agitation of slavery, and sundry Resolutions upon the same subject, beg leave to report the following Resolutions as expressing the undivided opinion of this Legislature upon the Wilmot Proviso, and all similar violations of the great principle of equality which South Carolina has so long and so ardently maintained, should govern the action of the States and the laws of Congress upon all matters affecting the rights and interests of any member of this Union.

Resolved, unanimously, That the time for discussion by the Slaveholding States as to their exclusion from the Territory recently acquired from Mexico has passed, and that this General Assembly representing the feelings of the State of South-Carolina, is prepared to *co-operate* with her sister States in resisting the application of the principles of the Wilmot Proviso to such territory at any and every hazard.

Resolved, unanimously, That the Governor be requested to transmit a copy of this report to the Governors of each of the States of this Union, and to our Senators and Representatives in the Congress of the United States.

Resolved, That the House do agree to the report *unanimously*. Ordered that it be sent to the Senate for concurrence.

By order. T. W. GLOVER, C. H. R.

Resolved, That the Senate do *unanimously concur* in the report. Ordered that it be returned to the House of Representatives.

By order. W. E. MARTIN, C S.

Extracts from the Reports and Resolutions, 1849, pp. 312, 313, 314.

In the Senate, December 13, 1849.—The Committee on Federal Relations, to whom was referred so much of the Message of his Excellency the Governor, as relates to the recommendation of the people of the State of Mississippi for a Convention of the people of the Southern States to be held in Nashville in June next; and also so much of the Message as relates to convening the Legislature of this State in the event of the passage by Congress of the Wilmot Proviso or any kindred measure, beg leave to report: That they cordially concur with the views expressed by his Excellency the Governor as to the necessity on the part of the Southern people of a united action against the encroachments upon their domestic institutions and their condition of equality in this confederacy by the people of the North and by the Congress of the United States; and rejoice with him in the lofty and dignified position assumed by the people of the State of Mississippi against any such infractions of the compromise of the Constitution; and the appeal which she has made to the people of her sister States of the South to unite with her in common counsel against common aggression. The committee are of the opinion expressed by this Legislature, at its last session, that the period of decisive action has arrived, and that the authorities of South-Carolina should be prepared, promptly to take such steps, as the other States of the South shall recommend, and her own position demands. The committee, therefore, in conformity with their own opinions; and as they believe, with the expressed and understood wishes of this Legislature, and of the people of the whole State, recommend for adoption the following Resolutions:

Resolved, That in the event of the passage by Congress, of the Wilmot Proviso, or any kindred measures, that his Excellency, the Governor, be requested forthwith, to convene the Legislature, in order to take such steps, as the rights, interests, and honor of this State, and of the whole South, shall demand.

Resolved, That the Senate do agree to the Report. Ordered, that it be sent to the House of Representatives, for concurrence.

By order.

W. E. MARTIN, C. S.

In the House of Representatives, December 19, 1849. *Resolved*, That the House do concur in the Report. Ordered, that it be returned to the Senate.

By order.

T. W. GLOVER, C. H. R.

In the House of Representatives, December 18, 1849. The Committee on Federal Relations, to whom was referred so much of the Governor's Message, as relates to the recommendation to the Southern States, by a Convention of the people of Mississippi, to send Delegates to meet at Nashville, to consult in common, upon common rights, with a view to unity of action.

And, also, so much of the message as relates to the convening the Legislature, upon the Wilmot Proviso, or any kindred measure becoming a law of Congress, report, that the people of this State entertain an ardent desire,

and fixed determination, to resist the lawless and unjust encroachments of Congress, on the rights of the South, and have pledged themselves, through their Legislatures, *to co-operate with the other Southern States*, in opposition to all such measures. They, therefore, concur with his Excellency in the belief, that South-Carolina hails with delight, the proffer by the people of Mississippi, of meeting, by delegates, *in common counsels*, at Nashville, and will heartily and promptly send delegates there, to represent them. That they concur, also, with his Excellency, in the propriety, of calling together the Legislature, should any such contingency occur, as is alluded to by his Excellency, and therefore, recommend the adoption of the following resolutions:

Resolved, That should the Wilmot Proviso, or any kindred measure, become a law of Congress, the Governor is hereby earnestly requested to call together the Legislature, should it not be in session at the time of the passage of such law.

Resolved, That the House do agree to the Report. Ordered that it be sent to the Senate for concurrence.

By order.

T. W. GLOVER, C. H. R.

In the Senate, December 19, 1849.

Resolved, That the Senate do concur in the Report. Ordered that it be returned to the House of Representatives.

By order.

W. E. MARTIN, C. S.

At the last session of the Legislature no resolutions or reports on the subject were adopted, but the ground was covered by "An Act to provide for the appointment of Deputies to a Southern Congress, and to call a Convention of the people of this State."—Acts 1850, page 55.

The preamble setting forth the *motives* of that Act is in the following words:

Whereas, the Convention of the Slaveholding States, lately assembled at Nashville, have recommended to the said States to meet in Congress or Convention, to be held at such time and place as the States desiring to be represented may designate, to be composed of double the number of their Senators and Representatives in the Congress of the United States, entrusted with full power and authority to deliberate with the view and intention of arresting further aggressions, and if possible, of restoring the Constitutional rights of the South, and if not, to recommend due provision for their future safety and independence.

The act then proceeds to provide for the calling of a Convention, and by sec. v. p. 56, enacts, "That a Convention of the people of the State of South-Carolina, is hereby ordained to be assembled in the town of Columbia, as hereinafter provided, for the purpose, in the first place, of taking into consideration the proceedings and recommendations of a Congress of the slaveholding States, if the same shall meet, and be held, and for the further purpose of taking into consideration the general welfare of this State, in view of her relation to the laws and government of the United States, and thereupon to take care that the Commonwealth of South-Carolina shall suffer no detriment."

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The act then proceeds to make provision for the number of delegates, &c., and that the Governor should send a copy of it to the Executive of each of the slaveholding States of the Union, and to urge upon them "the desire of the State of South-Carolina, that the said slaveholding States do send duly commissioned Deputies," &c. The Executive is further authorised to call the said Convention, in case the Southern Convention should meet before the next session of the Legislature.

When it is asked, why call the Convention? The above preamble furnishes us with an authentic reply. It was regarded necessary, consistently with her previous course, to manifest a constant anxiety to meet any suggestion from her sister Southern States, and to leave no doubt on the subject, she makes the assembling of the Convention to depend upon the meeting of the Southern Congress. And even though we construe the fifth section of the act to mean that the Convention should meet, (if a time be appointed at the succeeding session of the Legislature,) without regard to a Southern Congress, "to take care that the Commonwealth of South-Carolina should suffer no detriment," yet does this render very little aid to what is contended for on the other side. It will not be forgotten that the State of Mississippi had called her Convention in the middle of our session, and it was demanded by our pledges that we should go as far as any other State, so that our Convention might have been necessary to co-operate with hers.

Besides, to say that the calling of a Convention, without more, is a committal of that Convention to any particular course by the Legislature, is as much at variance with sound constitutional law as it is with fair argument. We look in vain throughout the act for any declaration, or even intimation, that separate secession was contemplated by the Legislature.

In the above proceedings we have the authentic record of what the State has felt, declared and done, and it seems to us impossible to deduce from any part of them that she has given any pledge, express or implied, or done anything to lead to the conclusion that she intended to separate herself from her sister Southern States.

Away then with the reproach that those who are now opposed to separate State secession, and still look to concert of action on the part of those Southern States whose future fortunes are linked together by indissoluble ties, would have our State change her position, or do any thing inconsistent with her honor or good faith.

This reproach can in no sense apply to those who are still striving for co-operation.

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